ROTHBARD–ROCKWELL REPORT

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DON'T VOTE

LLEWELLYN H. ROCKWELL, JR.

This is sizing up to be the dullest election in memory: candidate A vs. candidate B, both of them liars who want to line their pockets and expand the state, no matter what they claim in their rallies. The permanent government in the executive branch and the courts runs everything anyway. What a racket.

For that reason, turnout this November may well be the lowest in this century. So pundits are decrying the lack of public interest in politics. Neocons are bemoaning the collapse of America's "civic culture." Whatever happened, they ask, to the days when the pledge was our prayer, the "Star Spangled Banner" our hymn, war a sacrament, and the flag our altar cloth?

With the end of the cold war, Americans began to rediscover what it means to have a private life. That necessarily meant losing the misplaced faith in politics that has dominated national life from the New Deal to the present. The trend foreshadows the end of the nation state itself, a violent scam the elites have sustained only through wars and depressions.

Essential to the false national religion has been the vote. It is our central means of participation in civic life. With our vote, we signal our essential trust in the system, our belief that it can truly work to the social benefit. It used to be said that if you didn't vote, you couldn't complain about the outcome. It turns out that even if you do vote, you're not allowed to complain about the outcome. Democracy means acquiescence.

No law is fixed. No principle is secure. There are no rights that cannot be trampled by the plebiscitory dictatorship we call the presidency. By what right does he rule us? By right of the great god democracy, a concept that has been transformed from a simple voting mechanism into a mystical Rousseauian notion of the general will.

Democracy is only the most recent god to fail, but what can we do about it? Simple: don't vote. Consider your non-vote an act of private secession from the system that robs our liberty and tricks us into obedience.

If you don't vote, you will have clean hands. You will have declared your independence. You will be a true rebel. You will contribute to the decline and fall of the state.

Does not voting really make a difference? Indeed it does. When the Soviet Union forced its citizens to ratify pre-arranged political transitions, it wasn't just going through the motions. It was subtlety roping people into the psychology of participation, trying to underscore the myth that government can be of the people, by the people, for the people. For the same reason, U.S. power elites are terrified that Americans are no longer being tricked.

Even if there is a good candidate to vote for–highly unlikely–we might as well face the fact that our vote makes no difference. We are far more likely, as economist Gordon Tullock pointed out, to be killed on the way to the polls than to have an effect. There's also the question of moral sanction. How can we put our stamp of approval on the "lesser of two evils"?

How many times must we be "betrayed" by a candidate before we realize that betraying us is the very purpose of a system sustained only by our willingness to participate?

Make a bigger statement. Don't acquiesce. Abstain. The freedom not to vote is one of the few we have left. Exercise it while you have the chance. RRR

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INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING

OK. We can make an exception if you live in Ron Paul's district. But even there, a contribution means much more than a vote.

Newt Gingrich is playing GOP Big Shot again, swashbuckling around D.C. and demanding the White House come clean on its crimes. Fun stuff, of course. Liberty's never more secure than when the branches of government are at war with each other rather than united in war against us. Even so, isn't Newt embarrassingly transparent? He's got an immanent budget surplus on his hands, is faced with a grassroots revolt against the leadership for doing zero for four years, and knows he's expected to cut taxes, at least. Instead, he performs his little partisan shell game again, all the better to distract the masses.

Welcome Larry Abraham, conspiracy theorist and one-time booster of U.S. foreign policy, to the isolationist club. Writing from Chile during the visit of Bill Clinton, he says, "in my whole life, this was the first time I ever have been ashamed to identify myself as an American–and in fact, I made it a point to try and apologize to my Chilean friends for the insulting nature of the Clinton visitation." He describes the nightmare of a city constantly being circled by helicopters, streets perpetually closed, and a vulgar entourage of 1,000 presidential hangers-on, not to speak of the monsters of the media. And what were they all doing there? Expanding Nafta to include "a host of programs to dump the fragile economies of the region back into the banana-republic uncertainties of the socialist past." He concludes that he wanted to hit the streets with a sign, "Yankees, Go Home!" (*Insider Report*, April 1998)

Real conservatives have always distrusted Robert Bork, but they rallied around him in his moment of need in the 1980s. These suspicions were reduced with the success of his book *Slouching Towards Gomorrah*. But in light of his whoring around the hi-tech world as a paid flack for Netscape as against Microsoft, it's time to rethink his life's work. His *Slouching* book identified a host of ills in the modern world, but the perpetrator is always something he calls the "culture," and not the real enemy, which is the parasitical, malevolent, central state, which distorts and attempts to destroy everything it touches. Now Bork is helping it out.

Of course, all Leviathan's backers must eventually deal with Lew Rockwell. Lew had defended Microsoft against Robert Bork's smears that the software company was somehow forcing computer makers to carry its products. Lew pointed out that Bork is on the payroll of Netscape, and is willing to twist the law and the facts to advance his personal agenda. Bork, responding in the *Washington Times*, accused Rockwell of "rhetorical barbarism." For example, Bork is not jettisoning his principles to secure a "huge consulting fee." In fact, "my entire compensation comes from the same hourly rate I charge all clients." Oh. In any case, Bork says Rockwell "is what you get on the paleoconservative side if you combine James Carville and Sidney Blumenthal." Even more ominous, Rockwell's attack may be an opening salvo "in a Carville-style 'war' against MicroSoft's [sic] critics." The fact that Bork is on Carville's and Blumenthal's side in the assault on Microsoft somehow goes unmentioned. (*WT*, May 14, 1998)

Robert J. Samuelson has recently drawn parallels between the 1920s and the 1990s, and warned that a crash could be around the corner. He notes some interesting points. "As the market has risen, the personal savings rate has fallen. In 1992, it was 6.2. percent of disposable income; by 1997 it has sunk to 3.8 percent, the lowest since at least 1946." That's a very important indicator of whether the boom is wholly real. Also, since 1990, the market has zoomed 288 percent. In the 1920s, stocks rose 345 percent (between October 1923 and September 1929). (*Washington Post*, April 22, 1997)

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Several months ago, which is to say ancient history, the White House was denouncing Saddam Hussein's "presidential palaces" as proof of Iraq's cult of personality and dictatorial regime. Well, our government has its own much fancier mansions. The massive marble and granite temple, the Ronald Reagan Building, is the second largest federal edifice, bested only by the Pentagon, itself about the size of Rhode Island. Total expense for Reagan's basilica: $816 million or double the original cost projections. But this is appropriate. Reagan more than doubled federal spending and the federal tax take. At the dedication, Clinton had fun quoting Reagan's endorsements of globaloney. Said Reagan in 1985: "The U.N. stands as the symbol of the hopes of all mankind for a more peaceful and productive world. We must not disappoint those hopes." He also called U.S. ties to the IMF an "unbreakable commitment," proving once again Clinton and Reagan are part of the same duplicity.

Will the Y2K problem save the world? In a series of studies from the CIA and the GAO, we read astounding predictions about how the near total collapse of government is a mere 18 months away. "The U.S. and its allies, many of which also use [the Global Command Control System], would be unable to orchestrate a Desert Storm-type engagement in the year 2000 if the problem is not corrected," the GAO says. And it won't be corrected. Even the most optimistic forecasts have government correcting only a fraction of its code to account for the need for four-digit year numbers, as every programmer with a brain leaves D.C. for the private sector. And it's not only the U.S. empire abroad that's in deep trouble. Experts are predicting the end of tax collection, welfare payments, and government payroll systems. Sure, there are problems in the private sector too. But that will be a small price to pay for the collapse of D.C. Surely, we're dreaming!

Steve Forbes claims to favor limiting government, but where it has been limited over the last few years, he is complaining. The Clinton administration, he claims, is "systematically dismantling" the military. He's even sunk to raising the specter of Nazis abroad. "We're spending a wee bit more than 3 percent of the GDP on defense, the least we've spent since the neglectful 1930s." Get it? FDR was "neglectful" on government spending. Forbes concludes that "the Clinton-Gore administration is undercutting global stability." This man must be stopped before he arrives on his white horse to save the warfare state!

There is growing alarm about two new massive Cray supercomputers that have been installed in the White House, reports *Strategic Investment* (April 22, 1998). Is the purpose to run the country in the event of total government failure in 2000? The newsletter suggests that a suspension of the Constitution will occur (hey, didn't that happen in 1861?). It sounds scary, but it's not likely to work. What software will the White House use? We've checked, and there's nothing on the market called, "Run The Country" with "click here for Martial Law." These tyrants might like to run our lives with two computers, but it ain't gonna work. More likely, they're keeping track of Clinton's little black book.

The Official Bad Guy list of people who backed Nato expansion included the usual conspiring bunch (Samuel Huntington, Henry Kissinger, and David Rockefeller), some strange blasts from the past (Michael Ledeen, Frank Carlucci, Dick Cheney, and James Baker) but also a few surprises. They are Dan Quayle, Jeane Kirkpatrck, William Kristol, Francis Fukuyama, Bob Dole, Midge Decter, Arnaud de Borchgrave, Haley Barbour, George Allen, Vin Weber, George Weigel, Jack Kemp, and John O'Sullivan. Once a neocon, always a neocon, no matter what noises they make to the contrary.

Two political parties, or six? Hugh Hewitt asks that question in the May 4, 1998, *Weekly Standard*, and postulates distinct parties of Patriotism, Wealth, and Faith in the Republican Party, and License, Government, and Race in the Democratic Party. His breakdown of the Democrats sounds right. It consists almost entirely of labor unions, homosexual activists linked with abortion promoters, and race agitators. Note the absence of peace activists in his breakdown here! But on the Republicans, he's less compelling. He's right about the pseudo-patriotism of the warniks of the right. But his breakdown also suggests that people who oppose cultural degradation also oppose free enterprise, which is absurd, even if some D.C. Christians and free-immigrationists on the pro-market right are trying to bring about such a split.

Phoney baloney stories about racial oppression are practically an American tradition. When you hear civil rights leaders tell their de rigeur stories about their victimization at the hands of malicious whites, you can only roll your eyes and wonder whether there is even a morsel of truth. Even so, it's a fine thing when one of these tale spinners fesses up. James Hood, who gained entry to the University of Alabama in 1963 thanks to a federal military invasion, has long told how the Klan hanged and burned his uncle in the 1950s while he watched from his bedroom

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window. Most recently, he told the story to a crowd of 300 gathered on April 26 in Madison, Wisconsin. Questioned more closely, he admitted it wasn't his uncle, it wasn't a family member, and in fact it wasn't anyone at all. This revelation follows the admission of Federal Judge James Ware of San Jose, California, who said that his brother was not in fact killed by whites in Birmingham, Alabama, contrary to his age-old claim. (AP, May 7, 1998)

Neoconservatism "benefitted over the last decade from the inroads it made in the world of publishing," writes *National Review*'s David Bernstein. "No more." It turns out that the poor babies have lost their pet editors at major book publishing houses. The Free Press took a bath over David Brock's pro-Hillary bomb, and other big houses have nixed their neocon hangers-on. What's wrong with Regnery, we might ask? Too marginal, replies Mr. Bernstein. The *NR* crowd wants mainstream venues to publish more great books like, just to cite two examples, Fukuyama's *End of History* and D'Souza's *Illiberal Education*. Those books changed history, claims Bernstein. If so, it was only by making conservatives soften their stance against the modern state and redistributionism, which both books ardently defended.

When India and Pakistan tested a few nukes underground, all of Washington flew into a rage. How dare they develop nuclear bombs without approval of the U.S. empire? And yet, in their hearts, you know they were happy. The prospect of these countries with the bomb might persuade Americans that the "world is a dangerous place," in the Beltway cliche, and that therefore the U.S. needs to increase its military socialism. By the way, if nukes make the world dangerous, what can be said of the government that 1) developed the things, 2) brutally used them against cities full of civilian refugees, and 3) still owns and controls the preponderance of the world's weapons of mass destruction? That would be the U.S., the world's most dangerous government.

Blast from the Past. Michael Dukakis landed in, where else?, academia, teaching at Northeastern University. He recently told an audience of students, "I'm increasingly concerned about the young people who turn away from public life." Concerned about what? Concerned that by going into the private sector, they may actually contribute something to society? (Thanks, Chrisc.!)

"If RICO had been available in the early '60s, segregationists would surely have used it to knock the legs out from under the civil rights movement. In the 1960 Woolworth lunch counter sit-in in Greensboro, N.C., the 'property rights' of Woolworth to attract paying customers would have been seen as violated by conspirators who filled the counter seats for months. The group of black football players who stood protectively around the demonstrators would have been depicted as an illegal intimidating force," says neocon John Leo. Darn right! (*U.S. News & World Report*, May 4, 1998).

"Deep Impact," the Hollywood movie about a meteor hitting the earth, has some amazing special effects by Steven Spielberg. He's created an America of atheists, people who–faced with what seems to be their sure destruction–ignore God and go about their daily pursuits cheerfully guided by government. The wooden-faced black president, speaking slowly and deeply in an imitation of dignity, imposes total price and wage controls when he tells the country about the meteor headed their way. The controls have no effect, except to make America run smoother. The only thing that could make things better–presidentially imposed martial law–soon follows.

The government decides that one million Americans will be saved in a government cave dug into the limestone mountains of Missouri: 200,000 bureaucrats and soldiers, and 800,000 civilians chosen by a government lottery based on social security numbers. There is not a hint that there might be any corruption, or even inefficiency, in such an operation. Nor that there might be something wrong with suppressing the meteor news 'till the last minute, preventing private firms from building their own caves.

Thanks to government pilots in their government spaceship, only one relatively small piece of meteor strikes the earth, but it does give us the thrill of seeing Washington, D.C., washed away by a cleansing wave. At the end, the dignified dictator-president, surrounded by his largely black cabinet and military commanders, addresses a huge, cheering crowd, as he promises that government will rebuild the country. The camera pans back to show the U.S. Capitol being reconstructed.

Heroic New York City bar baron Tracy Westmoreland has opened a tavern called Drag, devoted to the pleasures of cigarette smoking. He figured there are plenty of people who like to smoke, but not necessarily cigars. On sale are cigarettes from every country that exports them. (*New York Post*, May 8, 1998) RRR

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OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF FOOLS

PAUL GOTTFRIED

In providing examples of stupidly congratulatory, smarmy journalism, Jonathan Kaufman may have taken the cake. In the *Wall Street Journal* (April 22), Kaufman celebrates the alliance between Jewish corporate zillionaires and minority CEOs making their way up the big-business ladder.

For Kaufman this alliance is both natural and profoundly beautiful: natural because Jewish corporate executives also had to "break corporate barriers" and, like the parents of Time Warner's Gerald Levin, were "turned away from buying a house because of their religion"; and beautiful because it reveals the touching empathy among Jewish victims of prejudice for another victimized group.

Despite "the deterioration in black-Jewish relations over the past 20 years," Kaufman exultantly notes that at least in big business "blacks and Jews have come together by the common experience of being outsiders." This seems a proper continuation of the 1960s, when "Jews were major contributors to civil-rights groups."

There are several questions that may be raised about these assertions and, even more, about their underlying assumptions. First, it is astonishing (though perhaps it is not) to see aggressively leftist personalities like Michael Eisner and Gerald Levin glorified in a "conservative" newspaper. But having looked at the *WSJ*'s editorial page long enough, I for one should not be surprised. On immigration; yammering about racism, sexism, and anti-Semitism; and condemning the Old Right, *WSJ* writers are, for the most part, indistinguishable from those of the *New York Times* and *Boston Globe*.

But does Kaufman offer an accurate picture of the shared fate of American Jews and American blacks? Prescinding from the usual statistics about Jewish per capita earnings and over-representation in the professions, commerce, and particularly the media, do Jews in fact share a significant "common experience" with blacks of being outcasts in the U.S.?

Such a notion is not borne out by historical facts, a point made thirty years ago, with utter ridicule, by black activist and author James Baldwin. Jews were not slaves in the U.S. and in some cases Sephardic Jews owned and traded in black slaves. Though Jews, at least the most recently arrived ones from Eastern Europe, suffered social discrimination in the first half of the century, their experiences were not notably worse than those of other minorities, e.g. Irish, Italian, Poles, Swedes, Norwegians, Germans, and a fortiori Asians. Even more curious is why the experience, or at least perception of housing discrimination suffered by their relatives radicalized Jewish youth in a way that did not happen to the descendants of other whites or of Oriental immigrants who underwent the same unpleasantness.

The excluded group in question is white ethnics.

For example, why haven't the Italian-Americans or the Chinese-Americans, who suffered as much discrimination, and probably longer, than Eastern European Jews, turned their descendants into raging liberals allied to blacks and other "outsiders"? And why does the black-Jewish alliance persist, despite the overt, continuing black anti-Semitism? Surely Jews would have cut their ties long ago with white Christians who insulted them a tenth as grievously as do respected black leaders, with impunity.

The answers to these questions are obvious but could not be stated in the neocon-liberal press, which concocts fictions about the natural alliance of Jewish and black "outsiders." As a *Triple R* colleague observed to me when he called my attention to the offending piece, Jewish business and media magnates have allied themselves with blacks at the expense of white gentiles.

This observation should be self-evident to anyone but an idiot. The excluded group in question is the white ethnics who are moving into professional and business positions about one generation behind American Jews. Despite the

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cultural and social ties between these aspiring ethnics and urban American Jews of European descent, folk memories keep Jews from regarding people mostly like themselves as favorably as they do blacks.

Unlike the predominantly Catholic ethnics, blacks are not associated with European anti-Semitism. Nor are they associated with a white culture from which Jews feel excluded. Such thinking, as Stanley Rothman notes in *The Roots of Radicalism*, has played a part in the sides that American Jews have taken in recent political battles, and it accounts for the choices made by Jewish organizations, like the National Council of Jewish Women, in support of affirmative action, gay rights, and open borders and against any sign of friendship with self-identified Christians.

Blacks are valued as "outsiders" not in the sense of having a shared suffering with Jews, but in a purely strategic sense of standing outside a still predominantly Eurocentric America.

The issue here is not simply secularism vs. religion, as stressed by two Jewish conservatives who are Orthodox Rabbis, Meyer Schiller and Daniel Lapin. What is being expressed is the deep-seated revulsion of American Jewish civic and ethnic leaders for a white Eurocentric society, which is believed to conceal a still virulent stream of anti-Semitism.

Blacks are valued as "outsiders" not in the sense of having a shared suffering with Jews, but in a purely strategic sense of standing outside a still predominantly Eurocentric America.

This last point needs to be stressed, for it explains the bizarre behavior, based on fictitious folk memory, which the *Wall Street Journal* sees fit to praise. It also puts into context the remarks made by a conservative activist, writing in the newsletter of a Republican Jewish organization, *Toward Tradition*, about being called a Nazi sympathizer by Jewish civic leaders because of his opposition to an initiative to extend civil rights protection in the workplace to gays. The author, Yarden Weidenfeld, reacted with incomprehension to the comparison by his fellow-Jews of "legitimate opposition to a behavior Judaism forbids to Jew-hating Nazism."

But the real point is that for many (and perhaps the vast majority) of self-identified American Jews, supporting the European Christian core culture once typical of Americans is a hate crime directed against Jews. It is expressing support for a body of belief that supposedly produced anti-Semitism and contributed to the Holocaust. That is the reason that the outraged activist was identified by Jewish leaders in his area as a Nazi fellow-traveler, for failing to endorse the gay "outsiders" against the old gentile American society.

If the association seems grotesque, it does make sense to those who accept the underlying premises. And for those who do, the favors Jewish corporate millionaires shower on blacks but not whites are equally understandable. RRR

POLITICAL GAMES

ERIC MARGOLIS

Few noticed a very important event amid Moscow's recent political uproar. President Yeltsin ordered secret documents about Stalin handed over to a presidential commission investigating victims of Soviet terror. While some Soviet-era archives have been opened to scholars, many key documents remain sealed as "state secrets."

It's high time for "new" Russia to face up to Stalin's crimes. Germany fully confessed to Hitler's crimes. Japan grudgingly concedes "regret" for some wartime crimes. But the greatest crimes of all—Stalin's Red Terror—have never been adequately investigated or denounced by Russia. Yeltsin is doing his people and the world a favor by

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shining light into Russia's darkest night of horror and shame.

We have been thoroughly conditioned by wartime propaganda and subsequent relentless rehashing on TV of Nazi themes (including, even, Space Nazis!) to believe

The U.S. government is forever blighted by its alliance with Stalin.

Hitler and his gang were the century's worst criminals. This is one of the biggest lies of our time.

Hitler killed about 12 million people, half of them Jews. According to the lowest current estimates by reputable Russian historians, Stalin was directly responsible for murdering 20 million of his own people, including eight million Ukrainians in the 1930s. Other Russian and foreign scholars, like the noted Robert Conquest, assert the true number of Stalin's victims was 30 million, or even 40! These figures do not include Russia's 18 million war dead.

Opening secret Soviet archives will, I believe, point to the 30 million figure. The full story of the Ukrainian Holocaust and NKVD savagery in the Baltic states is murky, even today. Stalin's exile of entire Muslim peoples, such as the Chechen, Ingush, Cherkass, Dhagestanis, and Tatars, remains almost unknown. Three million Muslims may have died in Stalin's Arctic camps where extreme cold proved an even cheaper and more efficient mass killer than poison gas.

While Hitler's worst crimes occurred from 1942 onward, and were masked by world war, Stalin's mass murder of eight million Ukrainians happened in the 1930s, before the world's gaze. Hitler did not start World War II alone: he began it jointly with his ally Stalin, when Germany and the USSR invaded and carved up Poland–after Russia invaded Finland.

As we watch world Jewish groups lambaste Switzerland for aiding Nazi Germany, we should ask: what about the U.S. and Britain allying themselves with Stalin's USSR, a far bloodier, more dangerous tyranny than Nazi Germany? President Roosevelt shamefully called Stalin, who had recently murdered tens of millions, "our Uncle Joe." President Clinton should have added the U.S. alliance with Stalin to his orgy of historical contrition during his African trip.

Hitler was inflated as a villain, and Stalin downplayed, by the victorious Americans and British, who, of course, did not want to be seen cynically using a greater monster to defeat a lesser one–or "liberating" Europe from the Nazis by handing half of it to communism.

The Stalinists and fellow travelers who infested Hollywood from 1930-1950 hid Stalin's crimes while trumpeting Hitler's. Their liberal heirs today continue this love affair with the left, as well as trying to ensure that the terrible suffering of Hitler's victims is not diluted by revelations of the equally terrible sufferings of other peoples.

Russia has hidden the full story of Stalin's crimes out of national shame and amnesia induced by national agony. European and American socialists/leftists don't want to be reminded that their roots are entwined with Stalin's and Lenin's tyranny.

This conspiracy of silence must end. Congratulations to Yeltsin for opening Soviet archives. Crafty Boris knows the facts will badly damage Russia's Communist Party.

The left wants to keep hiding the truth that Stalin was history's single greatest murderer, and that communist regimes killed more people–close to 100 million–this century, than all its wars combined. RRR

Mr. Margolis writes on foreign affairs for *The Toronto Sun*.

PEARL HARBOR CRIME

JOHN V. DENSON

The Mises Institute's book, *The Costs of War,* argues that the three wars prior to the New Deal constitute the turning point away from the ideas of our Founding Fathers.

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All three were won by the U.S. government: the war against the South, the war against Spain, and World War I, and they destroyed the constitutional structure of the old republic created by the framers. The New Deal would not have been possible without those wars clearing the way.

Without these wars, Franklin Roosevelt, in his unprecedented four terms, would not have been able to build the U.S. Imperium through a combination of domestic socialism and dragging America into World War II. He could not have built the Imperium unless the constitutional restraints and policies had been destroyed by the previous three wars. World War I in particular set up the structure and experience and momentum for Roosevelt to create the New Deal. He merely revitalized old government agencies that were created during World War I. But the New Deal would have gradually diminished without World War II, which put it into cement and established, once and for all, the all-powerful government we have today.

FDR is constantly ranked as one of the three great presidents, with Washington and Lincoln. He is pictured in American mythology as a man who hated war and loved peace and promised American mothers and fathers that he would never send their sons into a foreign war. He used this slogan for peace to be reelected to an unprecedented third term in 1940, copying Wilson's "He kept us out of war" slogan which got Wilson reelected to a second term. Wilson then immediately took America into World War I.

I want to investigate this mythology of FDR and I will primarily use the congressional investigation of Pearl Harbor, which took place in 1945 and 1946, to show how the U.S. Imperium was created, and why the myth of FDR is false.

The real villain of Pearl Harbor was FDR.

History is like a seamless piece of cloth, and not divided into sections. In order to study one event in time, you have to look at some preceding events and ideas, which make it significant and see how the event came to take place.

First, let's recall President Washington's farewell address and his strong warning about not letting foreign governments control or influence our domestic or foreign policy: "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government."

Secondly, we need to look back to World War I and Winston Churchill's vital role in bringing America into that war to help save the British Empire. Churchill was also a decisive factor in working with Roosevelt to bring America into World War II. England has always played a balance of power politics regarding the continent and opposed any nation that appeared to be gaining power. Germany, at the turn of the century, had become the strong man of Europe and so England wanted to curb its power. The same strength of Germany influenced England's policies for World War II.

When England was at war with Germany in World War I, Winston Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty. The Cunard Steamship Company had received government subsidies to build the *Lusitania,* the world's fastest oceanliner. In return for this subsidy, the government participated in the design, which allowed weapons and munitions to be secretly stored, and allowed government to take full control of the ship during wartime.

The author, Colin Simpson, in his 1972 best-seller *The Lusitania* shows how Churchill used the sinking of the *Lusitania* to bring America into World War I, because when the *Lusitania* sank, over 100 Americans lost their lives. Churchill's Admiralty changed captains on this fateful voyage and substituted William Turner for the usual captain. As the Lusitania drew near its final destination, the Admiralty ordered the usual military escort ship, the *Juno,* to abandon its mission, but the Lusitania was not told that it was now alone or that a German submarine was directly in its path. Next, the Admiralty ordered Captain Turner to reduce his speed, thereby making

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the Lusitania an easy target for torpedoes.

At the hearing held in England following this disaster, Captain Turner was made the scapegoat and found guilty just as the American commanders at Pearl Harbor would later be made scapegoats for that disaster.

Another important matter to consider prior to Pearl Harbor is Winston Churchill's close friend, William Stephenson, who later became famous by his code name, "Intrepid." Stephenson was a Canadian who made millions during World War I through the military industrial complex of Great Britain. He became a close friend and confidante of Churchill during the war, and remained very close to him thereafter. When Churchill became Prime Minister in May 1940, a year and a half before Pearl Harbor, he immediately arranged for financing from the Royal Family, without the knowledge of Parliament, for a secret organization headed by Stephenson to be located in Rockefeller Center in New York City.

The primary purpose of this organization was to help Roosevelt and Churchill bring America into the war through propaganda and whatever other means were necessary. This organization also had Roosevelt's blessing to eliminate any enemies of Great Britain in America, including American citizens.

This story is told in great detail by Intrepid himself in a 1976 book, *A Man Called Intrepid* by William Stevenson, who spells his last name differently than Intrepid. This is history from the original source, because the book is based on personal interviews with Intrepid himself, and on complete access to all of his original documents.

Intrepid has also been made famous through the fiction of one of his agents, Ian Fleming. Fleming created the fictional British agent James Bond, and these novels have been made into some of the most famous movies of our time. Intrepid is represented by the character "M," the mysterious boss of James Bond.

Churchill murdered anti-war Americans.

FDR had direct communication with Intrepid through his close associate, Bill Donovan and through his son, James Roosevelt. Donovan was the founder of the American spy agency known as the OSS, which was modeled on a plan provided by Intrepid, and which later became the CIA. J. Edgar Hoover was a reluctant participant in this whole scheme, but an important player. The whole plan required Hoover and his FBI to be subservient to Intrepid.

One dramatic incident proudly recalled by Intrepid is the mysterious death of an American citizen by the name of William Rhodes Davis, a wealthy oil man from Oklahoma, whose main business office was also in Rockefeller Center. During the 1930s, Davis had developed strong business ties to the German government and was an important source of oil for it. In the summer of 1941, Davis, age 52 and in excellent health, suddenly died. The FBI stepped in and stopped all local police investigation, labeling the cause of death as "sudden heart seizure."

Propaganda was also a prime activity. Intrepid created false documents and a false map actually used by FDR in a speech to the nation on October 27, 1941. These documents were allegedly obtained from a German spy and purported to show Hitler's plans for a secret invasion of South America. Intrepid also created a false document which was put into Hitler's hands as allegedly stolen from the American government. It was received by Hitler on December 3, 1941, and purported to show FDR's secret plans to make a surprise attack on Germany. This document played a major role in Hitler's decision to declare war on America on December 11, 1941, which surprised almost everyone except FDR and Intrepid.

Intrepid also provided ammunition to attack FDR's political enemies such as Charles Lindbergh and false information was created to make Lindbergh appear to be a Nazi sympathizer.

Now, let's look at what led to the alleged surprise attack at Pearl Harbor, which killed 3,000 American servicemen and caused massive damage to the Pacific Fleet.

In 1932, as part of the annual maneuvers, Naval planners documented that if there was ever a war with Japan, the Japanese would strike

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the Pacific Fleet, and Pearl Harbor was extremely vulnerable to a surprise attack by aircraft carriers. The reports showed that in order to prevent such an attack, a large contingent of aircraft would be needed for 360-degree surveillance, to provide sufficient warning to prevent disaster.

Secondly, FDR ordered the Pacific Fleet transferred from its base at San Diego to Pearl Harbor, with virtually no air cover or support. Admiral James O. Richardson, Commander of the Pacific Fleet, was so opposed to this order that he made a visit to the White House and personally protested to FDR. Roosevelt removed Richardson from command and placed Admiral Kimmell in control.

Next, FDR began to deplete the Pacific Fleet of some of its ships by sending them to the Atlantic to assist England and try to provoke the Germans into firing the first shot against America.

Some of the provocative acts by FDR to get America into the war are shown by the following events:

In the Atlantic, he used American military personnel and equipment to help locate the German battleship Bismarck for the British to sink, and he told Harry Hopkins at the time that if this was ever discovered, he would be impeached.

In the Atlantic, he used ships by the names of Greer, Kearney, and Ruben James as destroyer escorts to British ships. These destroyers helped locate submarines and assisted British airplanes in trying to destroy the subs. Submarines finally retaliated with torpedoes which missed and Roosevelt tried to argue that these were acts of war by Germany justifying America entering the war. Congress would not buy it. Roosevelt also used three ships from the Philippines to try to get the Japanese to fire first, but they would not take the bait there either.

FDR lusted for war—by any means necessary.

In regard to the diplomatic maneuvers of Roosevelt, he tried to provoke the Japanese by freezing all of their assets in America, and, most importantly, by cutting off all their oil supply and trade.

FDR met with Churchill in August 1941. Later, after America had entered the war, Churchill revealed to the British government that FDR had promised him at this meeting that he would get America in the war against Germany, even if he had to go through the backdoor by provoking a war with Japan. Churchill also bragged to the House of Commons in 1942 that it has been the policy of his cabinet to get the U.S. into the war. As part of his statement, he said, "This is what I dreamed of, aimed at and now it has come to pass" (Morganstern, p. 116).

A member of Churchill's war cabinet, Captain Oliver Lylleton, British production minister, who knew all of Churchill's and FDR's moves before America entered the war, stated in a speech on June 20, 1944, to the American Chamber of Commerce in London: "America provoked Japan to such an extent that the Japanese were forced to attack Pearl Harbor. It is a travesty on history, even to say that America was forced into the war" (Morganstern, p. 116).

In FDR's cabinet, Secretary of War Henry Stimson wrote in his diary on November 25, 1941, 13 days before Pearl Harbor, and described a cabinet meeting covering the problems with Japan. His diary notes that the meeting occurred at the White House and he states: "There the president...brought up entirely the relations with the Japanese. He brought up the event that we were likely to be attacked, perhaps [as soon as] next Monday, for

Murray N. Rothbard (1926–1995)—dean of the Austrian School of economics, historian of freedom, philosopher of libertarianism, and enemy of the state—was a one-man army of liberty. The *Rothbard–Rockwell Report*, which he cofounded, is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.

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the Japanese are notorious for making an attack without warning and the question was what should we do. The question was how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves" (Morganstern, p. 292).

In an unprecedented diplomatic move by Japan, its Prime Minister, a member of the Royal Family, offered to meet with FDR in America after learning of his visit with Churchill. The Royal Family had never left Japan before for a diplomatic meeting. The Japanese Prime Minister could see the danger of the meeting with Churchill. FDR flatly refused any such meeting.

Now, let's see how the American Imperium treated its own armed forces and the commanders in Hawaii.

These are the matters known by FDR and George Marshall, his main military contact in Washington, D.C., but not relayed to the commanders in Hawaii, who were later blamed for the tragedy.

On January 27, 1941, American Ambassador to Japan, Joseph Grew, telegraphed FDR that he had learned from a colleague from Peru that reliable sources had intercepted Japanese military plans to the effect that if Japan was forced into a war with the U.S., they would launch a massive surprise attack on Pearl Harbor (*Coverup*, p. 53).

America broke the Japanese diplomatic code and actually listened to everything they were saying to each other up to the moment of Pearl Harbor. Here are some of the things they learned:

Japanese spies in Hawaii were regularly reporting the positions of all ships in Pearl Harbor, and this information drastically increased the week before the attack, even including information that ships were not moved. A grid system was set up so they could relay the positions of the ships.

Roosevelt and Marshall learned that the Japanese diplomats stated that if the matter was not settled by November 26, 1941, things would automatically go into operation.

Kimmel and Short were deliberately smeared.

On December 3, 1941, Captain Laurence Safford intercepted the "winds execute" message which translated to mean: "War with America, War with England and peace with Russia" (*Coverup*, pp. 98-100).

Written evidence of this message was mysteriously removed from the naval records before the Pearl Harbor Congressional inquiry in 1945 and never found.

On December 6, 1941, a message was delivered by Naval Commander Lester Schulz directly to FDR and Harry Hopkins was present. It said that the diplomatic code machines were to be destroyed and a major event would occur the next day. FDR turned to Hopkins and stated, "This means war." There is an apocryphal story of Nero fiddling while Rome burned. FDR stated that on Saturday, he spent the evening working on his stamp collection.

During the early morning hours of December 7, the broken code indicated that at 1 o'clock Washington time, an important message was to be delivered by the Japanese diplomats. One o'clock in Washington was dawn at Pearl Harbor. General George Marshall had this message directly in front of him, coupled with all of the prior information, and he had more than two hours in which he could have warned the military commanders at Pearl Harbor. He had a scrambler phone on his desk which he could pick up and talk instantly with Admiral Kimmell and give him all of this information. Marshall testified that he decided not to do that and instead sent a regular telegram which arrived after the attack had already taken place.

Almost immediately after Pearl Harbor on December 15, 1941, FDR appointed a committee to hold secret hearings in Pearl Harbor to determine how this event could have happened. He appointed Supreme Court Judge Owen J. Roberts as Chairman. Roberts had made a speech at Madison Square Garden on August 19, 1941, advocating America's entry into the war as a means of achieving world government. This commission investigated through secret hearings at which Commanders Kimmel and Short were not allowed to submit any evidence or confront any witnesses and were denied due process completely. The commission concluded that these two commanding officers, Kimmel

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and Short, were solely at fault for the surprise attack and they were forced to resign in disgrace.

It was not until after the war and the death of FDR that a joint committee of Congress investigated. All of the information I have related to you is contained in the sworn testimony of those hearings. At the end of this article are all of my bibliographical sources. Get the books and read them for yourselves, and see the testimony that developed over Pearl Harbor. The findings went basically along Republican and Democratic lines with the Republicans finding gross misconduct and guilt on the part of FDR and George Marshall.

The evidence is so overwhelming that FDR was at fault at Pearl Harbor that many of his defenders have now changed their tactics and no longer deny that he tricked America into the war. A good example is the following quote from Professor Thomas Bailey: "Franklin Roosevelt repeatedly deceived the American people during the period before Pearl Harbor.... If he was going to induce the people to move at all, he would have to trick them into acting for their best interests, or what he conceived to be their best interest. He was like the physician who must tell the patient lies for the patient's own good.... The country was overwhelmingly non-interventionist to the very day of Pearl Harbor and any overt attempt to lead the people into war would have resulted in certain failure and an almost certain ousting in 1940, with a consequent defeat for his ultimate aims" (*Coverup*, p. 64).

One final word about this "good war" against tyranny. In addition to Great Britain, our other ally was Soviet Russia. Joseph Stalin was already, by the end of 1938, the greatest tyrant and murderer in all of human history. I recommend two books by Robert Conquest: *The Harvest of Sorrow* and *The Great Terror*. They cover the two separate periods of terror launched by Stalin against his own people. The first was during the period of 1929-1934 where he intentionally killed 11 million of his own people, and the second was 1936 to 1938, where he murdered three million more. Just prior to World War II, he killed 40 thousand Soviet officers and 50 out of 57 of his core commanders as a purge of non-loyal military. You will recall that Hitler did not purge his military and some of the regular army generals attempted to kill him before the war was over.

The U.S. sided with the greatest tyrant and murderer in all of history.

Instead of allowing Hitler and Stalin, the two great tyrannies who were at war with one another, to simply fight it out, we entered the war and sided with the greatest tyrant and murderer in all of history. The alleged good war was supposedly fought because Hitler invaded Poland, but it must be recalled that Stalin invaded Poland at the same time in alliance with Hitler.

At the end of the war, instead of freeing Poland, we turned it over to Stalin along with all of Eastern Europe, and Stalin continued his murders by the millions. We also turned over China to the communists. The end result of World War II was the destruction of Nazism, but the dramatic enhancement of communism throughout the world, leading to a 45-year cold war that got hot in Korea and Vietnam.

In the correspondence between Lord Acton and Robert E. Lee after the Civil War, Acton asked Lee to describe the significance of the war and Lee predicted that "The consolidation of the states into one vast Republic, sure to be aggressive abroad and despotic at home, will be the certain precursor of that ruin which has overwhelmed all those that have preceded it."

The U.S. Imperium, the all-powerful government created primarily by successful wars of the American government is as Robert E. Lee predicted it would be. Our task is to begin dismantling the Imperium, which must occur before we can rebuild and improve the constitutional republic created by the framers. No more Pearl Harbors! RRR

Mr. Denson, a practicing attorney in Opelika, Ala., is vice chairman of the Ludwig von Mises Institute. This article is adapted from a speech he gave to the Institute.

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HOLLYWOOD BUL

MICHAEL LEVIN

It is easy, and accurate enough, to call writer-producer-director Warren Beatty's *Bulworth* one of the most repellent films ever made. But that would be too simple.

Odious as it may be, *Bulworth* is also instructive–in its marketing, its critical reception, even in its own undeniable virtues.

The movie's plot, in broad outline, is one that most *RRR* readers, probably most Americans, will resonate to. Jay Billington Bulworth (Beatty), incumbent Democratic Senator from California, is sick at heart. No longer standing for anything, a puppet of special interests, he has come to treat the average voter as someone to be bamboozled on election day and ignored thereafter. His reelection ads show hokey home movies of his happy family ("Spooning those vegetables looks dynamic," gushes a sycophantic aide), when in reality his wife despises him and sleeps around.

So Bulworth decides to end it all. To provide for his family, he squeezes a $10,000,000 life insurance policy from a lobbyist (more of that later), and then commissions a hitman to do him in. But newly liberated by his impending death, with nothing to lose, he suddenly becomes...honest. Frank. Willing to speak his mind. Reborn as a Holy Fool, an Ivan Illyitch of the campaign trail, he sounds off at rallies and on TV. But, irony of ironies, his new-found candor restores his will to live. The balance of the movie depicts the swathe Bulworth cuts, while he simultaneously tries to avoid being bumped off.

Much of *Bulworth* is quite funny, and I found myself laughing aloud many times. Beatty might have been one of his era's great comics had he not been promoted as a pretty-boy. But political satire, especially of the innocence-taking-on-corruption type, is a familiar genre; just think of *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*. Yuks alone don't explain why *Bulworth* is being touted as "a high-wire act," "daring," "taboo-shattering," "a scandal," and "an outrage." The hype has to do with the ideals Bulworth yearns for, and what he says when the spirit of truth is upon him.

The movie begins with Bulworth quietly weeping in his Washington office, surrounded by photos and drawings of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy, and of himself–i.e. a young Warren Beatty–with Kennedy. Very quickly the goals he has abandoned are made clear: what depresses him is a stump speech he is planning in which he attacks welfare and vows to "end unnecessary affirmative action." (If eliminating "unnecessary" race preferences is enough to drive Bulworth/Beatty to suicide, what would the thought of ending all preferences do?) An insurance industry bigwig (Paul Sorvino in maximum menace mode) bribes him– with that $10,000,000 policy–into promising to stop a bill that requires insurance companies to sell policies to people who can't

Scheduled to address a black church, Bulworth discards his prepared text to scold the congregation about drinking malt liquor and idolizing O.J. Simpson.

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afford them. I myself would vote for the new Bulworth like a shot, but he is obviously supposed to be contemptible.

Soon after comes the film's one modestly daring moment. Scheduled to address a black church, Bulworth discards his prepared text to scold the congregation about drinking malt liquor and idolizing O.J. Simpson. It is indeed remarkable to find unflattering remarks about blacks in a contemporary Hollywood movie;

Nobody asks how whites built Western civilization without help from benign overseers.

I half expected a modern day Morals Squad to burst in and smash the projector. But Bulworth quickly clarifies his meaning. Where blacks have gone wrong, his harangue continues, is in believing that the Democratic Party really cares about them. In reality, Democrats care no more about blacks than Republicans do, and blacks who think otherwise are fools. In other words, the Great Truth Bulworth articulates is that Whites Are Untrustworthy, and its corollary, that Blacks Must Beware of Whites. That message, or some variant, pretty much exhausts the ideological content of the movie: Blacks Won't Get Their Fair Share Until They Recognize How Bad Whites Are.

That one idea is one idea more than most movies have, but to anyone even faintly aware of contemporary public discourse it is not exactly original. It is, on the contrary, a thudding cliché, an endlessly repeated tenet of the left-liberal world view. One cannot turn on the TV or open a newspaper without meeting it. Beatty is being called a daring radical for, in effect, believing what he reads in the *New York Times*.

Now back to our story. The blacks in church, after first being offended, like what they hear, and Bulworth likes them right back. This mutual admiration even awakens the supernatural in the person of Leroi Jones, a one-Rastafarian Greek chorus who periodically reminds Bulworth to be "a spirit, not a ghost." (The enduring spirit of Robert Kennedy, perhaps?) Bulworth also ends up in the company of a decidedly corporeal Halle Berry in an after-hours black dive. She agrees to hide him at her family's house in the 'hood.

(N.B. Like other black actresses allowed to interact romantically with white male leads–one also thinks of Angela Bassett and Vanessa Williams–Halle Berry has extremely light skin and Caucasoid features. Evidently Beatty did not quite have the courage of his convictions in this department.)

On its face, the ensuing depiction of black life is strongly negative. Most of the Berry character's family is illegitimate, has illegitimate children, or is somebody's half-brother. As she prepares collard greens for the lot, the black matriarch sings to herself about having something between her legs. On filthy abandoned streets Bulworth meets a gang of gun-toting underage drug dealers run by a black Fagin. Everyone calls everyone else "nigger." But blacks themselves are not to blame for their sorry estate.

Berry explains in an oddly didactic speech–almost a burlesque of policy wonkery–that manufacturing jobs have gone overseas, while Fagin complains that you can't support a family flipping hamburgers, that slum schools "f—ed up" by indifferent politicians do not prepare black youth for more gainful employment, etc. (Nobody asks how whites built Western civilization without help from benign overseers.) Bulworth witnesses the de rigueur white racist cop in action.

As a result of these experiences Bulworth's transformation is complete; he dons a homeboy's outfit–baggy shorts, a knit cap, shades –and begins to speak in rap couplets. In an amusing send-up of TV interviews, Bulworth appears thus attired to chat with a Barbara Walters clone, and no matter what he says or does she keeps trying to jam the show back into a conventional format. And it is here that Bulworth/Beatty sums up what seems to be his hope for America.

For the economy, the solution is "Socialism!–don't be afraid of the word." And as for the race problem, and I quote, "Everyone got to keep f—ing everyone 'till we're all the same color." Please note: years ago when some of its critics complained that the civil rights movement was really all about "mongrelizing the races," they were dismissed as

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sex-obsessed cranks. According to Bulworth, it turns out that they were right.

But Bulworth's demented behavior has an amazing result. His polls rocket skyward. Wouldn't you guess it; people unused to honesty from a politician just love him. And as for blacks, well, he is their new Moses to lead them from the wilderness. Fagin twirling a cigarillo as he hears Bulworth repeat word for word his explanation of black crime is as thoughtful as the onlookers in Rembrandt's drawing of Christ preaching. He even orders his goons to stop breaking legs.

The best news of all is that the gunman after Bulworth was none other than Halle Berry, who now of course knows and loves him. Being whiter than Berry (though not by much), Bulworth momentarily experiences anxiety. Just before his new lady fair reassures him with a big kiss, he says "Of course I'm insecure, I'm a white guy." You just know Beatty loved writing that line.

By now Bulworth has awakened from his fever dream, exchanged his homie duds for a suit, and reassumed some of the phoniness of the professional politician. (He compliments the matriarch on her collard greens.) I'm not sure what symbolic significance this reversion is supposed to have, but in any case, like the Ancient Mariner, Bulworth has been permanently changed. He is all set to lead the country on a crusade for justice, fairness and socialism, except for...Paul Sorvino, the insurance lobbyist. Looking grimmer every scene, he has finally had enough when Bulworth reveals that in America the insurance industry takes twenty-four cents of each dollar spent on medical care while the Canadian government-run system consumes only three cents of each health care dollar. So, in the final seconds of the movie he or some henchman shoots Bulworth dead. In the genuinely spooky fadeout, Leroi Jones wanders past the hospital where Bulworth has been taken.

The positions Bulworth takes may be left-liberal boilerplate about race, but the fact that they are paraded as revolutionary throws some light on the Hollywood left mindset. One aspect of this mind is its extraordinary narrowness. Even a modest retreat from the welfare state, remember, is sufficient grounds for suicide. A free society where each man is responsible for his own fate, where success reflects value to others, and where groups that do poorly have only themselves to blame, is wholly outside this frame of reference.

Second—probably the key factor in what makes radiclibs tick—rich, successful, lionized figures like Warren Beatty need to think of themselves as a brave minority to keep their morale up. By describing themselves as embattled underdogs bravely speaking out against ubiquitous evil racists they become the good guys. Why, go too far and an insurance agent just might take you out. And it's not Beatty alone who flatters himself. Almost the entire critical community, as I've said, is giddy with the absurdity that *Bulworth* is somehow dangerous. (That's also why the left can't stop talking about McCarthy; there were a couple of years a half-century ago when being pink was actually a little risky.)

Most baffling, and depressing, is the intelligence behind *Bulworth*. As in previous efforts like *Reds* and *Dick Tracy*, Beatty has organized all aspects of movie-making –dialogue, photography, music– into something the viewer is not likely to forget. In fact *Bulworth* is so striking, so much of a piece, that it can be watched as a *satire*, a savage parody of liberalism created by an antagonist who nonetheless knows perfectly how liberals think. So how can a guy that clever believe the junk he does, and, worse, believe he is the only believer? While we're at it, how come all of Hollywood, TV, publishing—the whole military-industrial-entertainment complex—is run by obviously brilliant people who believe so many obvious idiocies? I wish I knew. RRR

How come all of Hollywood, TV, and publishing is run by obviously brilliant people who believe so many obvious idiocies?

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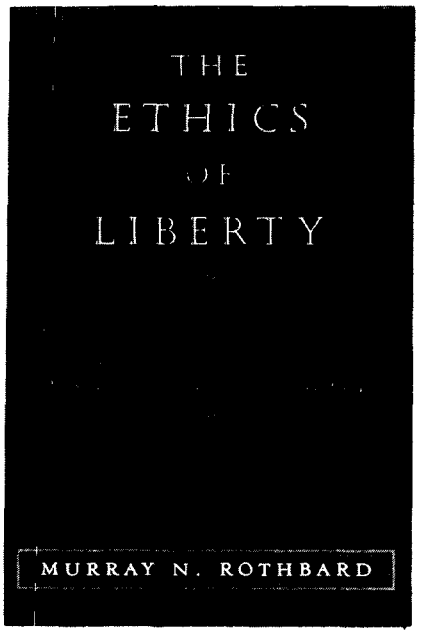

The Ethics of Liberty

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

FIRST 100 COPIES AUTOGRAPHED BY JOANN ROTHBARD

What a *tour de force* this book is—even by Murray's standards. He covers almost everything, from the centrality of private property to the criminal nature of the state, from the proper punishment for criminals (hard!) to the moral case for laissez-faire. Then he shows us exactly how to go about achieving liberty. This is Murray's most persuasive and philosophically rigorous case for the free and moral society. It is the handbook of freedom, with a brilliant new introduction by Hans Hoppe.

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